2: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NNIl Creek NNIl

796 173 their home in the west and one town followed them. This may indicate nothing more than the high regard in which the Shawnee were held. Certain innovations in the busk procedure may have been due to them, but to prove it we must wait for a study of Shawnee ceremonials.

796 642 621 619 •182 The story of Sanger Beaver probably represents very well the psychological attitude of the Indians toward their great ceremonial and epitomizes their opinion of its place in their lives even though it may not have the slightest basis in fact. The busk with its fire, its medicines, and its ceremonial was a great unifying element between the several members of the Creek confederacy, all the tribes which united with it either adopting such a ceremonial or altering their own to agree with it. And further than that it was a special unifying institution within each town, bringing all together for a definite purpose in which the good of each and the good of all were bound up. All transgressions, except some forms of murder, were then forgiven, all disturbances adjusted, and thus the unity and peace of the state reestablished. As with so many reputed founders of civilized states in the Old World, and as in the case of Hiawatha among the Iroquois, a primeval age of barbarism and warfare is put an end to by a lawgiver acting as the medium of supernatural agents, or possessing great supernatural power. The object of his labors is law, order, and peace. Thus the busk is supposed to be a great peace ceremonial, "the white day," the square ground is considered "the yard of peace," white feathers are used there, and its white smoke is intended to reach the sky. The White clans and Tcilokis were to play peaceably in the ball game and the side which won was to take both bunches of feathers. When a council of any kind was held, pipes were lighted and smoked, and the smoke ascending from them was called "the white smoke." As Swan tells us, the native name of the sacred medicine called "black drink" by the whites is really "the white drink." It is now claimed that the four foundation sticks of the fire depict the junction lines of "the white treaty" with the United States Government, and an old Tukabahchee Creek said that the White people promised to be on the north end of the north back stick of the busk fire. This interpretation, however, has evidently superseded an earlier one in which the Creek confederacy as represented by its four leading towns, Coweta, Kasihta, Tukabahchee, and Abihka, was symbolized by the fire sticks. The fact that the beds of the miko and henihas are often spoken of as white and were usually occupied by White clans also shows the dominance of the idea of peace in the square ground and particularly the busk ceremonial held there. It is to be added that at the time of this ceremonial everyone must speak in a low, gentle tone of voice, if children begin to cry, they must be quieted at once without disturbance, and a general air of harmony must be preserved.

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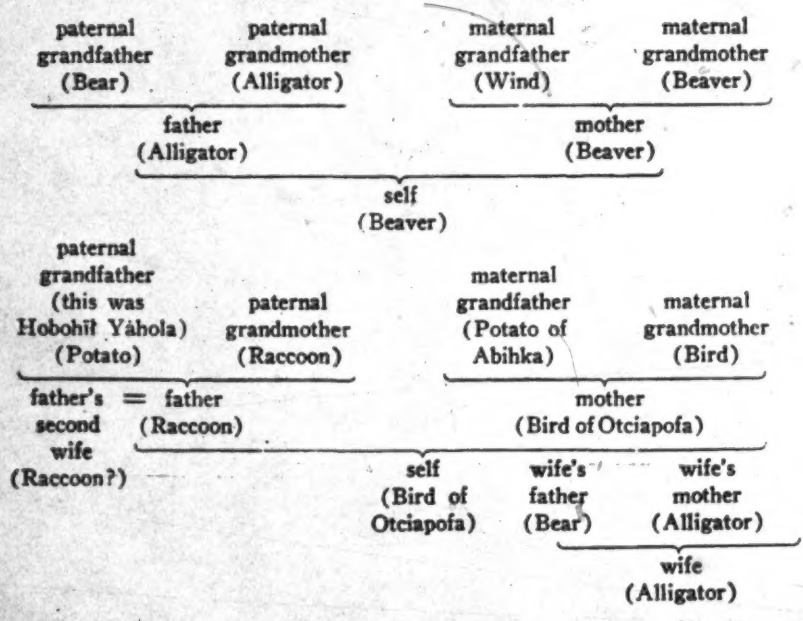
GENEALOGIES

The two brief genealogies which follow will illustrate in some measure the influence of the clan system on marriage. The first is the genealogy of Jeff Canard of Łapłáko; the second that of Earnest Gouge of Hanna, the latter of especial interest because it includes the famous orator Hobohīł Yàhola.



CONCLUSION

The busk undoubtedly represents a long period of development, and as the stages through which it passed and the elements entering into it have been lost, we can never understand it fully. Its main purpose, however, was evident. It was to restore the connections of the tribe with the universe which a year of civil or profane living had tended to rupture. Hence the new fire, extracted from its abiding place in the wood and not as yet sullied by contact with humanity. Hence the rigorous fast accompanied by administration of medicines divinely revealed to the ancestors, the general pardon of offenders, the sabbath calm prescribed for that period of regeneration, the use of white paint, and the employment of the term white—"the white day," "the white smoke," "the white drink"—in various parts of the ritual. The one discordant note seems to have been provided by the women's dance, since the leaders

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of that dance carried representations of war clubs, which there is every reason to believe were anciently adorned with scalps, and some of these were painted red. But I suspect that this dance was an attempt to represent war as a protective institution and to thank the being or beings who preside over human destiny for having so well defended them against assaults of the—as usual—perfidious foe. Possibly some element of propitiation also entered into this dance.

The universe with which the Creeks sought reconciliation was not, however, a material one. What they had in mind was rather the mind or minds believed to be operant there. While we know of some supernatural beings connected primarily with the busk and numerous spirits associated with natural objects were anciently believed in, it seems fairly certain that the peculiar patron of the ceremony was a solar, or rather celestial, being generally called Hisagita-immisi, "the breath controller," and also Ibofánga, "the one above," and that the busk fire was in some way an earthly representation of the great solar fire overhead. While it is probable that Hisagita-immisi was not in ancient times the monotheistic deity he has now become, there is every reason to think he was already, before White contact, the supreme being of the Creeks.